

Message Text

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TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 173164

NODIS

CHEROKEE-EYES ONLY FOR DR BRZEZINSKI

FOLLOWING REPEAT TEL AVIV 5442 ACTION STATE JULY 25.

QUOTE S E C R E T TEL AVIV 5442

NODIS CHEROKEE

E.O. 11653: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, IS

SUBJECT: ISRAEL POLICY ON NEW SETTLEMENTS IN THE OCCUPIED
TERRITORIES

FOR THE SECRETARY

SUMMARY: DAYAN WOULD LIKE OUR REACTION URGENTLY TO A
PROPOSAL HE MAY MAKE TO THE CABINET ON JULY 27. HE WOULD
TRY TO LIMIT ANY NEW SETTLEMENT TO ABOUT SIX SMALL
"MILITARY SETTLEMENTS," ALL TO BE ESTABLISHED WITHIN
THE CONFINES OF EXISTING ISRAELI MILITARY CANTONMENTS.
HE THINKS IT WILL BE POLITICALLY IMPOSSIBLE FOR BEGIN
TO PROHIBIT COMPLETELY ALL SETTLEMENT ACTIVITY IN VIEW
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OF EXPECTATIONS AND PRESSURES NOW BUILDING UP HERE.
END SUMMARY.

1. I SAW FOREIGN MINISTER DAYAN AT HIS HOME IN TEL
AVIV LATE SUNDAY AFTERNOON (JULY 24) TO GIVE HIM MY
IMPRESSIONS OF THE BEGIN VISIT TO THE U.S. AM REPORTING
SEPARATELY ON OTHER ASPECTS OF THE TWO-HOUR CONVERSATION;

HOWEVER, DAYAN ASKED IF I COULD OBTAIN FROM YOU A QUICK REACTION TO A PROPOSAL HE IS CONSIDERING MAKING AT THE CABINET MEETING ON WEDNESDAY MORNING (A SESSION NOW SCHEDULED FOR 11 A.M.). HE NEEDS SOME RESPONSE BY TUESDAY EVENING, JULY 26.

2. FROM DINITZ' REPORTS ON THE BEGIN/CARTER MEETINGS, DAYAN KNOWS HOW MUCH EMPHASIS PRESIDENT CARTER PLACED ON HIS HOPE THAT NEW SETTLEMENT ACTIVITY COULD BE SUSPENDED, AT LEAST UNTIL A GENEVA CONFERENCE IS CONVENED. HE SAYS, HOWEVER, THAT HE KNOWS HOW MUCH PRESSURE BEGIN WILL BE UNDER HERE TO FOLLOW THROUGH ON THE PUBLIC STATEMENTS HE MADE AT KADDUM AND ELSEWHERE DURING THE FIRST DAYS OF EUPHORIA JUST AFTER HIS ELECTION. DAYAN SAYS HE FRANKLY THINKS IT WOULD BE POLITICALLY IMPOSSIBLE FOR BEGIN TO IMPOSE A COMPLETE SETTLEMENT MORATORIUM. SETTLERS ARE READY TO LAUNCH 12 NEW SETTLEMENTS ON THE WEST BANK IN THE NEAR FUTURE, AND "THEY ALL HAVE THEIR SUITCASES PACKED."

3. TO TRY TO HELP BEGIN BE AS RESPONSIVE AS POSSIBLE TO THE PRESIDENT, DAYAN HAS THOUGHT OF PROPOSING ON HIS OWN INITIATIVE TO THE CABINET THE SCHEME OUTLINED IN PARA FOUR BELOW. BUT HE EXPECTS TO TAKE PLENTY OF FLAK FROM CABINET COLLEAGUES LIKE SHARON, AND WILL DO SO ONLY IF WE THINK WELL OF THE IDEA.

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4. DAYAN WOULD PROPOSE THAT "UNTIL GENEVA" (AND HE SAID IT WOULD CERTAINLY HAVE TO CONTINUE WHILE A GENEVA CONFERENCE WAS IN PROGRESS), NEW SETTLEMENTS ON THE WEST BANK WOULD ONLY BE PERMITTED IN "SIX OR SEVEN" LOCATIONS ALL WITHIN THE PERIMETERS OF EXISTING ISRAELI ARMY INSTALLATIONS -- AND ONLY THOSE ARMY BASES WHICH ARE A GOOD DISTANCE AWAY FROM MAJOR POPULATION CENTERS LIKE NABULUS, AND ARE WITHIN ABOUT TWENTY KILOMETERS OF THE OLD "GREEN LINE". HE HAS IN MIND PERMITTING GROUPS OF 30-40 FAMILIES TO ESTABLISH "NAHALS" ("MILITARY SETTLEMENTS") INSIDE THE EXISTING IDF CANTONMENTS, WHERE THERE WOULD BE NO QUESTIONS OF NEWLY OCCUPYING ADDITIONAL ARAB LANDS OR PROVOKING ARAB VILLAGERS.

5. I PASSED THE QUESTION OF SINAI AND GOLAN SETTLEMENTS, ESPECIALLY SINAI -- IN VIEW OF EGYPT'S KEY ROLE IN THE GENEVA PROCESS. HE SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN RACKING HIS BRAIN ESPECIALLY ABOUT THE WEST BANK, BECAUSE OF ITS PARTICULAR SENSITIVITY. BUT HE THOUGHT SOMETHING SIMILAR COULD BE DONE IN SINAI AND WOULD LOOK INTO IT. AS FOR

GOLAN, HE WAS NOT INFORMED ABOUT NEW SETTLEMENT PLANS THERE BUT DID NOT THINK THEY ARE EXTENSIVE.

6. AS WE TALKED, I REMINDED DAYAN THAT U.S. POLICY WAS OPPOSED TO ALL SETTLEMENTS IN THE OCCUPIED AREAS. I SAID I WAS CERTAIN WE WOULD MAINTAIN THIS POSITION IN PUBLIC AND, WHEN THE ISSUE AROSE, AT THE UN. THEREFORE, I COULD NOT SEE HOW WE COULD POSSIBLY GIVE ANY "APPROVAL" TO SUCH A SCHEME WHICH HE COULD CONVEY TO HIS CABINET COLLEAGUES. HE SAID HE REALIZED THAT OF COURSE, AND HAD NO INTENTION OF "SPEAKING TO THE CABINET ON BEHALF OF THE U.S." WHAT HE WANTED TO KNOW, BEFORE HIMSELF GOING OUT ON A LIMB HERE, WAS WHAT OUR VERY PRIVATE VIEW WOULD BE. IF HE MADE THE PROPOSAL
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AND IT WERE ADOPTED, WOULD IT PRODUCE AN ADVERSE IMPACT ON U.S.- ISRAELI RELATIONS? IF SO, HE WOULD NOT MAKE THIS EFFORT.

7. I TOLD DAYAN I WOULD TRY MY BEST TO GET HIM A REACTION FROM YOU NO LATER THAN TUESDAY NIGHT.

8. COMMENT: DAYAN EXPECTS BEGIN'S REPORT TO THE CABINET ON WEDNESDAY, AND THE SUBSEQUENT KNESSET DEBATE, TO BRING THE SETTLEMENTS QUESTION TO A POLITICAL BOIL VERY SHORTLY. I THINK THIS IS A REAL EFFORT BY DAYAN TO DEFUSE THIS EXPLOSIVE ISSUE AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE-- FOR A TIME. TODAY'S JERUSALEM POST (BLITZER FROM WASHINGTON) HEADLINES DILEMMA FACING BEGIN ON SETTLEMENTS ISSUE AND STRESSES FACT THAT "CARTER WOULD REACT MOST NEGATIVELY TO AN ISRAELI DECISION DURING THE COMING WEEKS TO GO AHEAD WITH PLANNED SETTLEMENTS." DAYAN AND I HAVE TAKEN SPECIAL PRECAUTIONS TO AVOID ANY LEAKS ABOUT THIS CONVERSATION. I RECOMMEND YOU AUTHORIZE ME TO ENCOURAGE HIS INITIATIVE, ON THE EXPLICIT UNDERSTANDING THAT HE MAY TELL NO ONE BUT BEGIN (IF HE CHOOSES) ABOUT THIS EXCHANGE. IF YOU AGREE, I WOULD AGAIN MAKE CLEAR TO DAYAN THAT WE COULD IN NO WAY PUBLICLY ENDORSE ANY ADDITIONAL SETTLEMENT ACTIVITY, DESPITE OUR UNDERSTANDING OF BEGIN'S DILEMMA AND OUR APPRECIATION FOR DAYAN'S EFFORT TO FIND A WAY OUT.
LEWIS UNQUOTE VANCE

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